



WORKS IN PROGRESS

ESTABLISHED IN 1990 BY THE THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

Snapshots of solidarity

Olympia delegates in Rafah describe the effects of Israeli occupation

by Serena Becker and Rochelle Gause

Ten hours' difference, some 6,800 miles away from Olympia, we are staying in the home of a Palestinian family in Rafah and it feels like an extension of our own families. We are part of a group of four—hopefully five soon—who have traveled to the Occupied Palestinian Territories as a delegation of the Olympia Rafah Sister City Project. After Rachel Corrie was killed, our hearts and minds were drawn to this place. We have come in the hopes of connecting with the community and creating lasting ties through tangible projects and cross-cultural exchanges. Through the last two-and-a-half years we have closely followed the news coming out of Rafah, educating ourselves on the political situation, and reading numerous perspectives on what is necessary for peace and justice.

Now that we have spent five weeks in the West Bank and Gaza, we are seeing all these realities on the ground. The power differential between Israel and Palestine is undeniable and international laws are clearly being broken, but none of this has prepared us for understanding people's daily lives, the resistance of just living, surviving here. It is the daily invitations into family homes to chat and drink tea, talking about what fashion is like in America, being asked about how Americans perceive Palestinians, laughing

together, playing with the children, which makes it almost incomprehensible that we are living amongst people whose entire lives are dictated by the will of an outside force, the Israeli military and government. And that this is funded by the everyday lives of working American families.

When we look out from the balcony of the home where we are currently staying in Rafah, we see children walk home from

The occupation is the slow strangulation of people's lives...It is a process of eradication with Israel holding all of the cards.

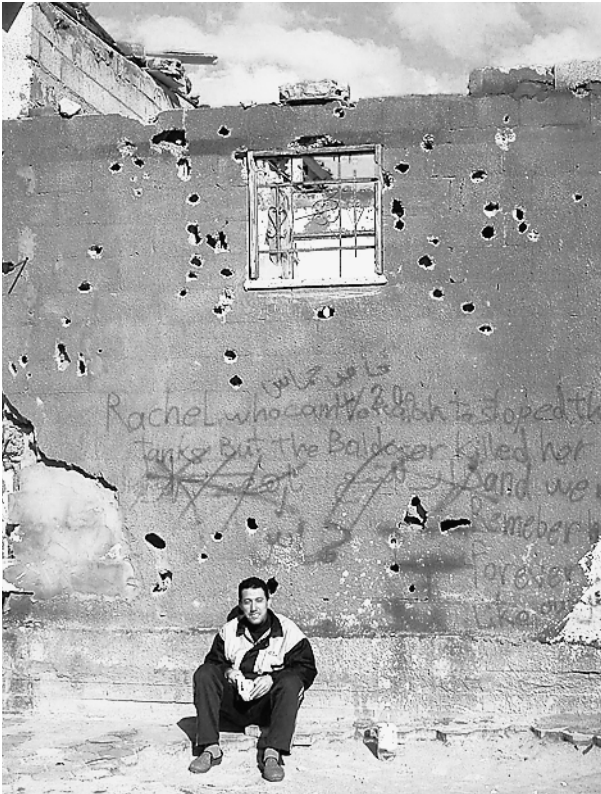
school, parents shop, taxis rush by barely avoiding head-on collisions. People ride bikes and donkey carts pass by, carrying anything you can imagine: food, building supplies, people. Beyond the intense poverty people face here (60% unemployment in the Gaza Strip) life feels normal in these moments.

The occupation is the slow strangulation of people's lives. This is not an all out bloody battlefield the way war is often perceived. Violence here comes not only in the form of F-16s and American made tanks, but is

also seen here in poverty, an undrinkable water supply, a devastated economy, and daily acts of intimidation. It is a process of eradication with Israel holding all of the cards. In the territories there is the perpetual feeling that you are walking on a thin layer of ice; you never know when it is going to break, when you will fall through into the ice-cold reality.

Look closer, submerged, you see what lies beyond the normality of everyday life. In our first month we spent time traveling and working in the West Bank with Palestinians and internationals non-violently resisting the occupation. Each experience we had was unique, yet threaded through them all was the constant reminder of the Israeli military occupation's tight grip, controlling an entire population of 2.4 million people. This stranglehold on life is so immense it has become integrated into society.

While in the Salfit region, we stayed with a family in the village of Deir Istya. That night we slept in their daughter's room with every single free square inch on the floor taken up by girls and blankets, reminiscent of a



A bullet-riddled building from Block L, Rafah Refugee Camp

middle school slumber party. The oldest daughter brushed and braided my hair and we danced to Arabic MTV-style music. We stayed with this family because the Israeli military has been making regular visits in the middle of the night trying to arrest their 17 year old son for reasons unknown to them. His younger brother is already being held. Israel has a long history of detaining people without trial on secret evidence, some for

► **Rafah Solidarity** continued on page 5

VEGETARIAN BETWEEN MEALS

This war can't be stopped by a loyal opposition

by Jeremy Scahill

The refrain of the Democrats about being misled into supporting the invasion of Iraq has become really tired. And someone other than the White House smear mongers needs to say it: The Democrats cannot be allowed to use faulty intelligence as a crutch to hold up their unforgivable support for the Iraq invasion. What is DNC Chair Howard Dean's excuse? He wasn't in Congress and didn't have any access to Senate intelligence. Still, on March 9, 2003, just days before the invasion began, Dean told Tim Russert, on NBC's Meet The Press, "I don't want Saddam staying in power with control over those weapons of mass destruction. I want him to be disarmed."

During the New Hampshire primary in January 2004, which I covered for *Democracy Now!*, I confronted Dean about that statement. I asked him on what intelligence he based that allegation. "Talks with people who were knowledgeable," Dean told me. "Including a series of folks that work in the Clinton administration."

A series of folks that work in the Clinton administration.

How does that jive with the official Democratic line that they were misled by the Bush administration? Sounds like Howard Dean, head of the Democratic Party, was misled by....the Democrats. Dean's candor offers us a rare glimpse into the painful truth of the matter. As unpopular as this is to say, when President Bush accuses the Democrats of "rewriting history" on Iraq, he is right.

None of the horrors playing out in Iraq today would be possible without the Democratic Party. And no matter how hard some party leaders try to deny it, this is their war too and will remain so until every troop is withdrawn. There is no question that the Bush administration is one of the most corrupt, violent and brutal in the history of this country but that doesn't erase the serious responsibility the Democrats bear for the bloodletting in Iraq. As disingenuous as

As unpopular as this is to say, when President Bush accuses the Democrats of "rewriting history" on Iraq, he is right.

the Administration's claims that Iraq had WMDs is the flimsy claim by Democratic lawmakers that they were somehow duped into voting for the war. The fact is that Iraq posed no threat to the United States in 2003 any more than it did in 1998 when President Clinton bombed Baghdad. John Kerry and his colleagues knew that. The Democrats didn't need false intelligence to push them into overthrowing Saddam Hussein's regime. It was their policy; a policy made the law of the land not under George W. Bush, but under President Bill Clinton when he signed the 1998 Iraq Liberation Act, formally initiating the process of regime change in Iraq.

Manipulated intelligence is but a small part of a bigger, bipartisan 15-year assault

on Iraq's people. If the Democrats really want to look at how America was led into this war, they need to go back further than the current president's inauguration.

As bloody and deadly as the occupation has been, it was Bill Clinton who refined the art of killing innocent Iraqis following the Gulf War. One of his first acts as president was to bomb Iraq, following the alleged assassination plot against George HW Bush. Clinton's missiles killed the famed Iraqi

painter Leila al Attar as they smashed into her home. Clinton presided enthusiastically over the most deadly and repressive regime of economic sanctions in history—his UN ambassador Madeline Albright calling the reported deaths of half a million children "worth the price." Clinton initiated the longest sustained bombing campaign since Vietnam with his illegal no-fly zone bombings, attacking Iraq once every three days for the final years of his presidency. It was under Clinton that Ahmed Chalabi was given tens of millions of dollars and made a key player in shaping Washington's Iraq policy. It was Clinton that mercilessly attacked Iraq in December of 1998, destroying dozens of Baghdad buildings and killing scores of civilians. It was Clinton that codified regime

change in Iraq as US policy. Bush ordered the invasion of Iraq but he could not have done it without the years of groundwork laid by Clinton and the Democrats. How ironic it was recently to hear Clinton call the war "a big mistake."

It's easy to resist war with a president like Bush in the White House. Where were these Democrats when it was Clinton's bombs raining down on Iraq, when it was Clinton's economic sanctions targeting the most vulnerable? Many of them were right behind him and his deadly policies the same way they were behind Bush when he asked their consent to use force against Iraq. As the veteran Iraq activist and Nobel Prize nominee Kathy Kelly said often during the Clinton years, "It's easy to be a vegetarian between meals." The fact is that one of the great crimes of our times was committed by the Clinton administration with the support of many of the politicians now attacking Bush.

Herein lies the real political crisis in this country: the Democrats are not an opposition party, nor are they an antiwar party - never were. At best, they are a loyal opposition. The Democrats ran a pro-war campaign in 2004 with Kerry struggling to convince people that Dems do occupation and war better. The current head of the DNC, Howard Dean, never met a war he didn't adore until he realized he could exploit the energy and sincere hopes of millions of peace-loving Americans. Dean wasn't ever antiwar. In fact, during the 2004 campaign

► **Loyal opposition** continued on page 5

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Works In Progress is a free, volunteer operated progressive community newspaper based in Olympia, WA. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of *Works In Progress* and are solely those of the authors.

Submissions

Please send text as Word attachments. Artwork and photos can be sent electronically or we can scan them for you as camera-ready/black & white.

WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number.

Articles may be reprinted. Please cite source.

If you don't see your issue being covered in Works In Progress, it's because you aren't writing about it! (Or aren't finding someone else to cover it!)

Send submissions to wip@zhonka.net or mail to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295.

Governing Tool

The following statement is part of the Editorial Policy and is the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause:

WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.

Mission Statement

"Our aim is to confront injustice and

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encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. Works In Progress is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

Anti-Discrimination Clause

We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

Back Issues

Get your catalog of indexed WIP's below. Some back issues are available in the Timberland Library system. WIP is being archived on microfilm by the UW Library.



On the cover: Jody Tiller writes the name of a fallen US soldier on an umbrella. (Photo by Robert Torre)

Left: Tiller, along with Audrey Daye, fasted on the Capitol steps to send a message to Gov. Gregoire to send the National Guard home.

See related article on page 4.

WIP Schedule

Submission Deadline:
December 23

PO Box 295 • Olympia WA 98507
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ANNOUNCEMENTS

Dana Lyons to perform at Traditions

Friday, Dec. 2 & Saturday, Dec. 3

Dana Lyons will be playing 2 shows in Olympia: Friday, December 2, and then again on Saturday, December 3 at the Traditions Cafe downtown.

Each of the concerts begins at 8PM, and the ticket price is \$10 for Everyone but Students & Low-Income Folks, (who will be charged only \$5.00.)

Caveat: Cell Phones will be collected (& smashed) at the door. Dana is well-known among the EarthFirst! crowd as one of the movement's wittiest campfire troubadours, but his musical range extends far beyond that of "just another Eco-Folkie"! His most recent CD (#8) is entitled "Circle the World: Songs & Stories". It's a collaboration with world-famous author & noted primatologist, Dr. Jane Goodall; and he's also recently been working closely with Pete Seeger, on yet another collection. Even if you've never heard of this guy before, if you're reading WIP, it's very likely that if you choose to attend one (or both!) of these Concerts, you will not leave the show feeling unsatisfied!!!

ArtWROC

Saturday, December 3, 1:00-9:00 pm
at Bryce's Barbershop, 118 4th Ave

ArtWROC is an art and crafts sale that benefits local artists. Find fabulous, affordable and unique gifts. Support a local nonprofit organization and local artists. Enjoy fresh-brewed coffee and delicious desserts. Win an exciting raffle prize. Listen to live music all day long, featuring: Vince Brown, Jana Vitols, Dirk Ronneburg, Cera Impala, Jenny Jenkins, Scuff Acuff, Marla Elliot, LaVon Hardison, Tom Russell, Rich Sikorski and special guests. Don't miss the best party in town!

Sponsored by the Welfare Rights Organizing Coalition (WROC). WROC is a local nonprofit, grassroots organization made up of low-income parents and our allies. Our members organize for positive change in welfare policy, our communities and our lives.

For more info call WROC at 360-352-9716.

Critical Mass Bike Ride

Saturday, December 3, beginning at 1:00 pm

There will be a solidarity rally at the downtown fountain area on Saturday Dec. 3rd with drumming, music and open mike from 1:30-2:30pm. Bicyclists will gather at Rainy Day Records parking lot at 1pm for a permitted Critical Mass bike ride downtown to the event.

Organized by TESC Environmental Resource Center. For more info contact coordinator Maya Elson at 705-4510.

The Olympia Unitarian Universalist Social Justice Film Series

Thought provoking films and documentaries followed by brief discussion for those interested in finding ways to learn more or take action.

Showing December 4, 2005, at 4pm: *The Invisible War*

This film looks at the debate of whether to use depleted uranium weapons in war. The Gulf War was the first testing ground for a new weapons material — depleted uranium. In 1998, the Iraqi government claimed that depleted uranium (DU) had caused the Gulf War Syndrome among its population. At the time, the world media treated the claim as propaganda but now both Gulf War veterans and researchers are questioning what risks DU weapons pose for military and civilian populations.

All films are free and are shown at the Olympia Unitarian Universalist Congregation, at 2200 East End St NW in Olympia. For information on these and other activities by the OUUC Social Justice Committee, go to www.olyuu.org or contact socialjustice@olyuu.org.

Re-Framing Iraq Peace Outreach — A Participatory Workshop

Wednesday , December 7
Starts at 7:00 pm sharp and runs to 9:30 pm at Traditions Café, 5th & Water SW

This workshop will help local peace folks devise better ways to shape the Iraq peace message in ways the general public will be able to hear, understand and accept. This is part of the "People-to-People Outreach Campaign," and the "Bringing It Home" series promoting nonviolent resistance to the Iraq war. Glen Anderson designed this workshop and has conducted it elsewhere with terrific results.

For more information, contact Glen at 491-9093, or glen@olywa.net

How to Talk with Anyone About Iraq

Tuesday, December 20
7:00 sharp to 9:30 pm at Traditions Café, 5th & Water SW.

Come to this practical workshop to develop skills in talking with the public or other people who have different thoughts and feelings about the Iraq war. Liv Monroe is conducting it. This workshop will be useful even for people who already attended Liv's workshops on Sept. 11 or Sept. 13, because tonight's workshop is new with a sharper focus on talking with people about Iraq and will offer lots of practice.

This is part of the "People-to-People Outreach Campaign," and the "Bringing It Home" series promoting nonviolent resistance to the Iraq war.

For more information, contact Glen at 491-9093, or glen@olywa.net

The Olympia Unitarian Universalist Social Justice Film Series

Showing January 8, 2006, at 4pm: *The Oil Factor: Behind the War on Terror*

After assessing today's dwindling oil reserves and skyrocketing use of oil for fuels, plastics and chemicals, "The Oil Factor" questions the motives for the U.S. wars in the Middle-East and Central Asia where 3/4 of the world's oil and natural gas is located. Interviews gathered throughout the Middle-East, Europe and the United States, including a Bechtel executive in Baghdad, also expose who is cashing in on the tens of billions of dollars requested from congress by the current administration of G.W. Bush.

All films are free and are shown at the Olympia Unitarian Universalist Congregation, located at 2200 East End St NW in Olympia.

Free Water Saving Kits for City Sewer Customers

Olympia—City sewer customers can save water and money; and reduce wastewater flow by installing free water saving kits. Each kit includes a low-flow showerhead, kitchen and bathroom faucet aerators, toilet leak detection tablets, and installation instructions.

Call Olympia's CityLine at 753-4444, ext. 8390 to obtain a free water saving kit for your home. Kits are available to City of Olympia sewer customers only.

December 2005



Freedom isn't free

Liberty has never come from the government. Liberty has always come from the subjects of government. The history of liberty is the history of resistance. The history of liberty is a history of the limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it. Woodrow Wilson				1 2004: Gov lawyers say US can hold foreigners as enemy combatants even if they aided terrorists unintentionally	2 2004: Gregoire calls on the Democratic Party to seek a recount of all votes statewide today —“or don’t recount at all”	3 1999: Several thousand WTO protesters march in downtown Seattle 2003: Bush signs “Healthy Forests” to boost logging
4 2001: Israel continues bombing of Palestine; Sharon calls Palestinian Authority a “terror-supporting entity”	5 1999: AFL-CIO chief, John Sweeney welcomes the failure of the WTO talks in Seattle, says “No deal is better than a bad deal.”	6 1999: US District Court reports Treasury Dept destroyed boxes of documents proving millions owed Native Americans	7 1835: Pres Jackson responds to violence over abolitionist activities by recommending ban of mail circulation for antislavery publications	8 2004: Spc. Thomas Wilson asks Rumsfeld in Iraq why soldiers there must search local landfills to provide armor for their vehicles	9 2002: Israeli army kills mentally retarded Palestinian man; when told of mental retardation troops said “not our problem”	10 2002: Jimmy Carter accepts Nobel Peace Prize; “We will not learn to live together in peace by killing each other’s children.”
11 2004: Doctors say Ukrainian opposition leader and presidential candidate Yushenko was poisoned w/ dioxin	12 2002: Bush makes regulatory changes to allow religious social-service organizations to receive more government grants and contracts	13 2004: AP poll reveals people in France, German, Spain are more likely to have an unfavorable than favorable view of Americans	14 2004: Navy documents show Marines forced Iraqi juveniles to kneel while troops discharged a weapon in mock execution	15 1890: Sitting Bull is killed by federal troops 2002: Sean Penn visits Baghdad in protest of threats to invade Iraq	16 1998: US begins 4-day barrage of Iraq with hundreds of missiles 2003: UN says 2003 third hottest year	17 2004: Nationwide poll reveals 44 percent of Americans believe gov should restrict the civil liberties of Muslims
18 1995: In the yet to be released Pendleton Report, one-third of OPD employees want Police Chief Wurner removed	19 2004: Social Security Administration is rejecting all marriage documents issued in 4 communities that perform gay weddings	20 2004: Low-income housing group reports only in 3 US counties can one rent a 1-bedroom apt + pay utilities w/ fed minimum wage	21 2004: OH officials say the electronic voting machines worked as promised in election w/ Bush picking up 438 more votes in recount	22 2004: Christine Gregoire wins the hand recount by 130 votes; Dino Rossi refuses to concede and GOP plans to appeal	23 1617: England institutes a penal colony in Virginia which is to receive habitual criminals who are exiled from their native country	24 1997: Fed judge okays Weyerhaeuser/US Forest Service land swap: 4,352 acres w/ old-growth for 30,253 logged acres
25 1991: Mikhail Gorbachev resigns as president of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union itself is dissolved the next day	26 2004: Tsunami wave from Indian Ocean hits 1000s of miles of coast along Southern Asia killing massive number of people	27 2004: Reformer/dioxin victim Viktor Yushchenko is victorious in Ukraine’s presidential election; his opponent won’t concede	28 2002: Internal White House memo outlines re-election agenda: “War on terrorism”, homeland security, and legal reform	29 1997: Dept Co Prosecutor says knife-wielding man shot Dec 10 by Olympia Police officer may have been trying to commit suicide	30 1936: United Automobile Workers Union stage “sit-down” strike at the Fisher Body Plant Number One in Flint, Michigan	31 2004: Bush and his political allies are raising millions for campaign to promote private Social Security accounts

CALLING FOR ACCOUNTABILITY IN HAITI

The US and UN subject of human rights petitions

by tyler rougeau

Note: I have written previously in these pages about the human rights situation in Haiti since the ousting of democratically elected President Jean Bertrand Aristide; see the September 2005 issue of Works In Progress. In sum, the situation is grave and little acknowledgement of US involvement in the violence, both militaristic and economic, is making the headlines. Despite the mainstream silence, one can read limited coverage of the political climate in Haiti in such alternative press sources as NarcoNews, Democracy Now! and, to a lesser extent, CounterPunch. These sources are excellent for national and international news, but this broad focus tends to keep Haiti out of the picture. If anyone is interested in a consistent source for news out of Haiti, she can email me and request a free

online subscription to the (unofficial) English transcribed Agence Haitienne de Presse (AHP). My email is redwater@riseup.net for those interested in the mailing list. The following news brief was informed by the above mentioned mailing list.

Human rights activists filed petitions recently in the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which charge that Brazilian-led United Nations peacekeepers in Haiti have participated in the murder of Haitian civilians. The petitions further accuse the United States of supporting violent repression by supplying the Haitian National Police with weapons subsequently used to carry out massacres.

Many human rights delegations have

returned from Haiti since the February 2004 coup bearing detailed accounts of terrible political violence directed at the civilian population, most of which are supporters of Aristide's Lavalas Party. In addition, several of these delegations have accused the UN peacekeeping force, MINUSTAH, with abdicating its responsibility to reform the Haitian National Police and protect the population. These recent petitions appear to be an attempt to hold the US and UN responsible for their role in participating in and supporting the violence inflicted on the Haitian body politic.

The fate of these petitions rests on the judgment of the seven Commission members of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which is itself an organ of

the Organization of American States. These Commission members are elected from the OAS and are responsible for deciding whether the petitions filed are admissible as a case for investigation.

Meanwhile, the first rounds for the Haitian presidential and legislative elections are scheduled for December 27, 2005. A coalition of Social Democrats, calling itself Fusion, has been formed in opposition to the potential re-election of former President René Préval. Despite the political violence directed at Lavalas supporters, 20,000 Lavalas activists came out and showed their support for Préval at a November 3 demonstration in Port-au-Prince, as reported by AHP.

HUNGRY FOR PEACE

Governor Gregoire: Bring home the Washington State National Guard

by Jody Tiller, with Audrey Daye

Three years ago I thought I was small and couldn't make a difference; that's not how I wanted to be in this world. So when I was offered a chance to speak as a veteran against the war, I took it—even though I had no idea how to speak over the lump in my throat and the buzzing in my ears. What I feared was being so shy that friends would say that I had done a good job and no one else would say anything. Instead, people still come to tell me how that speech inspired them. What carried me over my lump of fear? I am committed to creating a peaceful world. That commitment moves me to stand where I can make a difference.

On September 24th, 2005 I marched for peace in Washington DC with hundreds of thousands of voices raised in joy and determination. I returned to the West Coast carrying the weight of the war. It felt like every day mattered, and I moved to do something to bring our troops home. On October 31st I completed a seven-day water fast aimed at encouraging Governor Chris Gregoire

to call for the immediate withdrawal of Washington's National Guard troops from the Middle East. I sat on the steps to the Washington State Capitol building from sunrise to sunset with my friends and fellow citizens who wanted our troops home. I felt elated, surrounded by folks who were willing to be out in the cold and rain, speaking for the safety of our National Guard.

Our National Guard signed up to protect the citizens of Washington from natural disasters or threats of violence within the state boundaries, and to protect to sovereignty of US borders. There never was a threat to the security of the United States posed by Iraq. Yet, our National Guard troops were still federalized and are now being killed overseas at rates higher than those of regular Army troops. Why? A lack of training and equipment: our government supplies the regular Army better but still puts our National Guard into combat situations. Due to their extended deployments and higher fatality rates, fewer people are now willing to enlist. With a depleted National Guard comes the likelihood that Washington will

be left vulnerable to natural disasters—such as earthquakes or volcanic eruptions—for years to come. Our governor and legislature bear a responsibility to protect not only National Guard members and their families, but all Washington citizens. Granted, Governor Gregoire cannot snap her fingers and “magic” our troops home. However, when her spokespeople say that she doesn't have the authority to call for the National Guard troops' return, I ask, “Why not?” Those troops were federalized for illegal purposes; of course she can demand the return of our troops. We are encouraging her to be a courageous and an ethical leader, and to protect her state.

I sat to show our Governor that she has support for beginning to end the war. I sat to be powerful in peace. I sat to make connections even with those who disagree with ending this war. We are continuing our vigil on the Capitol steps, but this time community groups and individuals from around the state will staff the stairs, showing Chris Gregoire that she has broad support for demanding the return of our

troops. Join us at the Olympia Free School on Tuesday, December 6th at 7pm to plan our ongoing vigil. Bring dates that you and your groups would like to sit in peace on the stairs. What are you committed to? Where will you stand to make a difference? Will you stand with me for peace?

Visit www.hungryforpeace.org for more information.

Jody Tiller on the Capitol steps surrounded by supporters (photo by Robert Torre)



► **Rafah Solidarity** continued from page 1

over 5 years. The soldiers come in the night, pounding on the door, shooting into the air, climbing on the roof looking for him. He is not there; he rarely sleeps at home anymore knowing that any night they could come for him. It is hard to find any man in the West Bank who has not been detained at some point in his life. We slept there to document human rights abuses and ease the fears of the mother, whose health has been declining due to the stress of the situation.

Earlier in the week we spent time picking olives. Wandering up the hillside that surrounds the village of Salem, located outside of Nablus in the West Bank, we followed the oldest son through the olive grove as he led the donkey loaded with empty bags to their family's trees. Being out in the fields under the hot sun in the dust was reminiscent of being at home picking blackberries or blueberries rather than accompanying a Palestinian family threatened by the violence of settlers. Settlers have cut down olive trees, burned them, stolen olives, attacked and even killed the local villagers in their groves. There is a history of settler violence throughout the West Bank, and Salem is no exception with the settlement Elon Moreh situated just to the north of the village. For these reasons internationals have been asked to accompany Palestinians during the harvest in many areas of the West Bank.

In Gaza, where the settlers were recently forced to leave and the military redeployed to the borders, air and sea, we have visited many places that hold the memory of daily violence, constant gunfire and raids. In Rafah, staying with the family whose home Rachel died defending, Dr. Samir told us how through this time he found his strength in the eyes of his youngest daughter, Iman. The strength required to stand confidently in front of his three beautiful children during the years of night after night tanks firing around and into their home. Although he was full of fear, he would stand showing none of it, even on nights when Israeli soldiers came into his home, forcing him



Olympians Serena Becker and Rochelle Gause (third and second from the right) with the Nasrallah family and their neighbors. The Nasrallahs' first home was demolished by the Israeli military after Rachel Corrie was killed defending it.

to gather his entire family in a corner of their living room and sit for hours held at gunpoint. One night, tanks firing all around them, Iman, who would usually cower and cry in this situation, entered the garden and began dancing. With his eyes wide, Dr. Samir told us that one more year and his children would have gone crazy.

Five weeks in Palestine and it is clear that our government's foreign policy in the Middle East is creating more hatred, more division, and more injustice on a global scale. In Rafah these divisions are clear; people look skeptically at us as we walk down the street. They ask us if our government sent us here. This work is difficult and

US foreign policy only aids in making it more so. But this is why we are here, to challenge the roles they place on us: terrorist, patriot, freedom fighter and on and on. We cannot let our government dictate the way people across the globe relate to each other. We must work to create a more holistic world view, one in which we struggle together, support each other and recognize that our liberation is tied to that of one another. Living here, the similarities of our daily lives are undeniable; we all need food, jobs, clean water and a roof over our heads. These things sound obvious but the media and our governmental policies dehumanize others. With two more months in Rafah remaining,

we hope through this work, the people we meet, and the connections we make to create a sustainable relationship that will be fostered between people in both of our communities. We can only counter the negative actions of our government and the mistrust it breeds one by one. This is why we came here. We hope that our small effort will add to the ripples of solidarity already resonating throughout the world.

You can find more of our writings and photos of our travels on the Olympia Rafah Sister City Project website www.orsep.org under the Oly Rafah Blog.

► **Loyal opposition** continued from page 1

he attacked Kerry for opposing the Gulf War while laying out his own pro-war record.

"In 1991, I supported the Gulf War. I supported the first President Bush," declared Dean. "Senator Kerry who criticizes my foreign policy, he voted against that war. I supported the Afghanistan war, because I felt it was about our national defense—3,000 of our people were killed. I supported President Clinton going into Bosnia and Kosovo."

How can Howard Dean look people in the eye today and pretend to speak with any credibility as an antiwar voice?

When the hawkish Democrat Rep. John Murtha bravely stepped forward to call for an immediate withdrawal of US troops from Iraq this week, he was quickly blasted by the White House and simultaneously disowned by powerful Democrats like John Kerry. Occupation lovers together again. The bloody scandal of the Iraq occupation has opened a rare and clear window into the truth about this country: there is one party represented in Washington—one that supports preemptive war and regime change. The reality is that the Democrats could stop this war if the will was there. They could shut down the Senate every day, not just for a few hours one afternoon. They could disrupt business as usual and act as though the truth were true: this war should never have happened and it must end now. The country would be behind

them if they did it. But they won't. They will hem and haw and call for more troops and throw out epic lies about the US becoming a stabilizing force in Iraq and blame the Republicans for their own complicity and enthusiasm in the 15 years of bipartisan crimes against Iraq. Why? Because they support war against Iraq.

All of this begs for a multiparty system in this country and the emergence of a true opposition. The epic scale of the disaster in Iraq calls for epic lessons to be learned at home. Like the Bush White House, the Democrats have lost their credibility. They are undeserving of the blank check of "Anybody But Bush" and should never be allowed to cash it again. Rep. Rahm Emanuel, who heads up the House Democrats election campaign, criticized Murtha's call for immediate withdrawal, saying, "At the right time, we will have a position." It is statements like that that should result in Emanuel and his colleagues losing theirs.

Printed with permission. Jeremy Scahill, an independent journalist who reports frequently for the national radio and TV program Democracy Now!, has spent extensive time reporting from Iraq and Yugoslavia. He is currently a Puffin Writing Fellow at The Nation Institute. He can be reached at jeremy@democracynow.org.

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How should the peace movement deal with the media?

by Sandy Mayes

As any regular *WIP* reader knows, there are a lot of people in this town working at various levels and through a variety of tactics to bring an end to the war in Iraq. Considering the diversity of perspectives and philosophies among the many local peace and justice groups, there is an amazing degree of goodwill and cooperation between them. But there are differences of opinion about strategy and style which often revolve around the question of managing the movement's public image – through direct contact with the public and, in particular, through the media.

Misrepresentation in *The Olympian*

Those differences surfaced recently when, on October 30, *The Olympian* placed, above the fold, on the “South Sound” section cover, a 5 by 7 inch photo of an angry exchange between two women directly under the headline referencing a peace vigil on the Fourth Avenue bridge. Seven hundred people participated in this event which was titled “2,000 is 2,000 too many: Mourning All the Dead in Iraq.” The photo, however, was taken at a separate event at the port, which occurred spontaneously, immediately following the vigil, in response to the arrival of a US Navy cargo ship coming in from Iraq. [We requested permission to reprint the photo here, but *The Olympian* editors refused.]

The ill-placed photo created an overt misrepresentation of the vigil on the bridge which - according to organizer Glen Ander-

son - was “100% peaceful.” For Anderson and other vigil organizers, this misrepresentation was especially galling since so much care and planning were devoted to assuring an event which would be conflict-free. They had “greeters” on hand to welcome vigilers and even went so far as to place an announcement in *The Olympian* the preceding day, advising potential participants to display only “peaceful” messages: “The event is intended to be a peaceful memorial to the loss of Iraqi, American and other lives in the war. Peaceful signs are welcome, but signs reflecting sarcasm or other issues are not.”



Vigilers line 4th avenue to mourn the victims of the war in Iraq

Photo by Robert Torre

The response to *The Olympian*'s coverage was swift; in very short order they were inundated with phone calls and emails protesting the distorted representation of the vigil, resulting in two op-ed commentaries:

On November 2, *Olympian* Executive Editor Vickie Kilgore defended the layout: “The photo was chosen by editors because it was visually compelling, it included more than one perspective and it captured emotion. The message of the photo was an important one for readers to see.” She even goes on to take a swipe at Edward R. Murrow in his “approach to McCarthy” for journalism which “slides into righteous advocacy without apology.”

In his op-ed a couple days later, Glen Anderson used his allotted 525 words to argue for “truth and accuracy” in reporting – on behalf of a “democratic society.” He also emphasized that the altercation between the women in the photo “was the only negative incident in an otherwise peaceful day.” In the upcoming issue of the Fellowship of Reconciliation Newsletter, he takes that

Yes, The Olympian is certainly at fault for using an inaccurate photo to perpetuate the stereotype that the peace movement is negative and consists mainly of Evergreen students. However, the young woman who argued with the older woman also was responsible for the bad publicity. Without their argument The Olympian would have had to choose a more accurate and representative photo from among the dozens of

photos taken that day. The older woman had arrived precisely to harass the group and provoke a reaction, and she achieved her goal when the younger woman “took the bait.” Training in nonviolence, Non-violent Communication, and peacekeeping give us skills in maintaining our dignity, defusing other people’s anger, and de-escalating tense situations. If the younger

woman – and more of the other peace folks around them – had practiced nonviolence we could have solved the problem quickly and deprived The Olympian of the opportunity to express its bias.

fered by people in that region. He believes we must likewise decline to “fight back”. “If there is to be suffering...better us.” It gives us “the moral high ground.”

We need our own media

But not everyone in the movement believes that images can be managed so precisely – or that efforts in that regard should take such high priority. I asked Alice Zillah of the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace to comment. She said, “Corporate media, including the *Olympian*, has only one job:

the case, managing media images can't be the only, or even the primary, focus of outreach. If we want to define our agenda and its parameters, we must create and support alternatives to the corporate media. As Larry Mosqueda says in the article on the following page, “It is wrong to believe that if ‘we’ behave ourselves to the standards of the power elite, ruling class, or establishment (take your pick) that they will give us good coverage. We need our own press, which we have to some degree in Olympia.”

Yes, and the “degree” to which we have our own press is up to us – you and me – the citizenry. Independent media needs independent resources – human and otherwise.

There are a number of independent media projects in our community worthy of support. Here, I will highlight two whose need for additional resources is especially urgent:

- 1) *Keeping Democracy Now!* on TCTV. There really is no other broadcast news and analysis project that compares to the national weekly radio and TV program, *Democracy Now!* And although the program is available on two separate radio stations in Olympia (KAOS 89.3 FM and FRO 98.5 FM) it is essential that we also keep it on TCTV which reaches a whole different potential audience.. See page 9 for more information about keeping *DN!* on local access TV for another year.
- 2) *Works In Progress*. This newspaper needs more money and more human energy. Money can come in the form of advertisements, donations or subscriptions. We also need people with skills using layout software, proofreading, and website management. We need someone to sell ads. And we need better coverage of local issues. See page 2 for contact info.

Why was Heidi angry?

Heidi Hanson was one of the 70 people who headed for the port to protest the military ship after the vigil. She is the young woman whose photo image has been at the center of the controversy discussed in this article.

Heidi was standing with a group of friends in front of the gate at the port holding a peace sign. As the older woman approached the group, she immediately seemed to zero in on Heidi. “She came up to me and just started screaming. She was pointing her finger and yelling things like, ‘I’m ashamed of you!’ ...At first, I just stood there smiling and holding my peace sign...But I got the energy and I responded to it.”

Heidi tried repeatedly to interject as the woman yelled at her. She was saying, “What about Brian Penisten?!” – the fallen soldier whose name Heidi was wearing around her neck. Finally, she screamed that question at the woman which, she says, is when the camera clicked. When the photographer asked for her name, Heidi says she gave it to him on the condition that he would include in the caption what she was saying in the photo.

That didn't happen.

things can never be completely erased from view - and it will usually be what the media chooses to zero in on. Since that is

If we want to define our agenda and its parameters, we must create and support alternatives to the corporate media.

Managing media images

Anderson's commentary raises certain questions, such as: 1) To what degree can the peace and justice movement ever hope to deprive the corporate media of opportunities to express its bias, 2) How necessary or even “truthful and accurate” would it be to wash, from the media, images or expressions of rage against the war? [or against poverty and racism – see “Saving Rosa” on page 9] and 3) How important is it and how much energy should be spent attempting to manage image?

I asked Glen about these things. He said, “We need a culture shift in the whole progressive community...embracing nonviolence.” “Given that *The Olympian* runs photographs, how do we want to be depicted?” As an example of the strategy he embraces, he referenced the civil rights movement of the early sixties. He believes that media images of southern Blacks on the receiving end of abuse and violence – not fighting back – were pivotal in persuading much of White America of the injustices suf-



Photo by Robert Torre

Solidarity in the peace movement: We must respect a variety of tactics

The following is an email sent by OMJP member Larry Mosqueda related to the controversy discussed on the opposite page.

We have to remember that the people who skewed the picture reporting in the news were the *Olympian* editors, not the brave souls who rightly went down to the port to protest another death ship coming to Olympia. When I saw the ship coming in to the port after 11 AM, I knew that a good portion of the vigil crowd would go to the port, and rightly so. I saw the photographer taking the picture of the one argument, and I KNEW that that would be the lead picture, since the paper would want to have a faux conflict that would make it a more dramatic moment. As the president of US Steel said once, the purpose of USS is not to make steel, but to make money – likewise the purpose of

usually just a coincidence, whether it is a local paper like the *Olympian* or the *New York Times*.
As we all know, even an expertly organized event like the 100,000 event by Deb and Keith did not make for a good story in the media. When I went to the September 24th protest in Seattle there were over 5,000 peaceful organized participants. The *Seattle P-I* devoted six paragraphs to the rally and march – and two of the paragraphs were devoted to the 1 (ONE) counter-protester who virtually no one saw. It is wrong to believe that if “we” behave ourselves to the standards of the power

have to some degree in Olympia.
“We,” the peace/anti-war movement, are a majority movement in the country now and always have been in Olympia. Thus we are going to have many tactics that will

below 40% for a variety of reasons and for a variety of tactics is a testament to the diversity of tactics. (His popularity among Black Americans is about 2%, again for a variety of reasons.)

I think that the one hour vigil was reasonably successful, although it is not necessarily the way that I would have planned it by myself, but then I have some respect for the decision making process (of which I was a

We do need to be careful about our strategy and tactics, and we need to recognize that there will be many, useful and varied tactics that will propel this movement forward.

be used by various factions. Some like to only call themselves a “peace” movement, but I have no problem to also being called a protester or Anti-war, since even the word peace can have Orwellian connotations, such as when US agencies like the nuclear Strategic Air Command can have the slogan “peace is our profession” and local police agencies and prison guards from Chicago to New York to Olympia can call themselves “Peace officers” and even some progressives believe it. Or the mistaken, if often well-meaning, belief that the overall purpose of the US military is to protect the peace. (The “overall purpose” is not the mistaken beliefs of the individual soldiers but is determined by the elite policy makers.)

There was no conflict at the port until the older woman became abusive and insulting to the crowd. The response by the young woman was understandable. We do not need to seek out conflict with those who are followers of the current regime, but we don’t need to shy away from them either and accept their abuse. We do need to be careful about our strategy and tactics, and we need to recognize that there will be many, useful and varied tactics that will propel this movement forward. The fact that Bush’s popularity has gone from about 80% (after 9/11) to

part) and recognize that it fulfilled a need for many people. Likewise it is myopic to believe that with a military ship arriving at the very time of the vigil, that there would not be an immediate and vigorous response. Fortunately there was. I have studied and used a variety of tacticians from King to Marx to Malcolm X and use what is appropriate and not just what is ideologically “pure.” Even Jesus got angry enough to throw the money changers out of the Temple – maybe some will get angry enough to throw the Navy out of Olympia.

There will be no “consensus” on November 2 about what will be a variety of events from Seattle to Tacoma to Olympia and elsewhere. I hope that “we” who are older will not be too judgmental about events that show a profound disgust with the criminal actions of the Bush administration. We do need to be careful about how we resist (and not just protest and vigil) but we do not need to be timid and we need to show solidarity among ourselves.

Good job at the vigil and good job at the port. Protest the *Olympian*, not the protesters.

Spontaneous demonstration at the Port in response to the arrival of the military ship
Photo by Robert Torre



The USNS Fisher docked in the Port of Olympia with hardware from the war in Iraq. (photo by Robert Torre)

the mainstream media is not to report the news but to make money. Any resemblance between reality and reporting is

elite, ruling class, or establishment (take your pick) that they will give us good coverage. We need our own press, which we



The illegality of Guantanamo Bay

by Marco Rosaire Rossi

In his book *Against All Enemies*, Richard Clarke, the former counter terrorism chief, describes how George W. Bush sought to set a new standard for human rights after September 11. In the evening after the terrorist attacks on the world trade center, George Bush had a special meeting with Donald Rumsfeld and Clarke. The president said to the two: “I want you all to understand that we are at war...any barriers in your way, they’re gone. Any money you need, you have it...I don’t care what the international lawyers say, we are going to kick some ass.” Apparently, what “going to kick some ass” has meant is ignoring the US constitution, the US Supreme Court, and international law – or at least that is what it has meant for the prisoners in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

The United States opened the Guantanamo Bay Detention Center shortly after the invasion of Afghanistan. The stated purpose of the detention center was to hold and question terrorists. According to the State Department, information gathered from these prisoners was critical in fighting the war on terror. It is extremely unlikely that even the majority of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay know anything about terrorism. The method used to gather up the prisoners was neither fair nor accurate. While in Afghanistan, the United States offered rewards to anyone who would give information on terrorism or who was willing to turn in a terrorist. Afghanistan is an extremely poor country where starvation is normal. Some analysts suspected that the resulting instability of the US invasion would result in as many as a million people starving. Those figures turned out not to be accurate, but the plight of the Afghan is very real. Desperate Afghans turned each other in to the US military. The military, which doesn’t have adequate oversight and legal

structures, rounded-up hundreds of men and sent them to Guantanamo Bay. Some of them were as old as a hundred and some of them as young as eleven.

At first Guantanamo Bay, Cuba may seem like a strange place to send suspected terrorists and have a secret detention center, but the move was intentional for two reasons. Guantanamo Bay it is not in Western Asia. This separates the prisoners from their families and community connections, and takes them away from an area of the world that is suspicious of US actions. The next is because it is not in the United States. The United States constitution clearly states in the 14th Amendment that “No State...shall...deprive any person of life, liberty, or

combatants,” because the provisions in the Geneva Convention were written to cover prisoners of war. According to the provisions, “Prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated. Any unlawful act...causing death or seriously endangering the health...is prohibited, and will be regarded as a serious breach of the present Convention.” The protection of international law is what the Bush Administration is trying to avoid. On February 7, 2002, President Bush signed a memorandum that proclaimed that the provisions on prisoners of war “[do] not apply to either al Qaeda or Taliban detainees.” Instead, the prisoners at Guantanamo Bay are “enemy combatants” – a term that is not mentioned at all

This hunger strike will not end until the Bush Administration comes into compliance with international law or the prisoners starve to death. They have literally put their lives on the line in the name of respect and human dignity.

property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” The “any person” phrase is what is significant. What this means is that a person does not have to be a US citizen to receive such rights as legal representation, to be presumed innocent, freedom from cruel and unusual punishment, or any number of the many rights granted to a person at birth. However, by keeping the prisoners on the outskirts of US land, the Bush administration has made the case that the constitution does not apply, and the administration can do with the prisoners whatever it likes.

Administration has also made the claim that the prisoners are “enemy combatants.” This term is also intentional. The administration is trying to make a distinction between “prisoners of war” and “enemy

in the provisions. The term was unknown to the world of international law until the Bush Administration introduced it. It has no precedent or international consensus on its meaning or use.

Some progress has been made on behalf of the prisoners at Guantanamo despite these obstacles, but it is minimal. In 2004, the US Supreme Court ruled in *Rasul v. Bush* that the prisoners at Guantanamo Bay are entitled to due process and adequate legal council in petitioning against their detention in accordance with the constitution. The only problem is that the Supreme Court has no power to enforce its ruling. That power is reserved for the Justice Department, which is part of the executive branch – and thus controlled by the Bush Administration. Instead of following the Supreme Court’s guidelines, the Bush administration has

pulled a “trail of tears” and has ignored much of the ruling. The prisoners are not given legal council, nor has the torture stopped. Instead, each prisoner is allowed to plead his case by himself before a military tribunal with no oversight.

Naturally, these conditions have lead to protest and resistance from the prisoners. The prisoners are currently engaging in their fourth hunger strike. Unlike the previous three, this hunger strike will not end until the Bush Administration comes into compliance with international law or the prisoners starve to death. They have literally put their lives on the line in the name of respect and human dignity.

Their actions have caused some necessary uproar. Human rights groups, journalists, and lawyers are pushing even harder for access to the prisoners inside the camp. The military has not folded, but they have acknowledged the heat. Also, new legislation has been introduced into Congress by Republican Senator John McCain that would ban “cruel, inhuman and degrading” treatment of all detainees held by the United States. The legislation would essentially be symbolic. The current legal framework already prohibits everything the legislation would propose – what is missing is citizen enforcement. Regardless, it would send a strong message to the Bush administration, and the mere proposing of it has provoked important questions about presidential power.

Guantanamo Bay represents everything that is wrong with American policy and the culture of American politics. This struggle is significant to for two reasons. The survival of the prisoners at the detention center and preserving their dignity is the most immediate. The other reason is the precedent that the Bush Administration is trying to set in place. If they have their way, we will have all moved further away from a world where institutions protect human rights, and closer to a world where lawless nation-states rule at will.

Mar de Plata: Fighting the FTAA and Bush in Argentina

by Cory Fischer-Hoffman

MAR DEL PLATA, ARGENTINA—During the week of November 1–5, in the Argentine beach town of Mar del Plata, the 25-year struggle between neo-liberalism and grassroots social movements met head-on. George Bush came to Argentina, with thousands of security, to attend the IV Summit of the Americas - whose theme is “Creating Jobs to Reduce Poverty and Strengthen Democratic Governance.”

Argentines, who have largely rejected the neo-liberal invasion that led their country into economic crisis in late 2001, have mobilized against Bush and the financial system he represents. As the Nestor Kirchner Administration hosted the official Summit of the Americas behind miles of fences, the Peoples’ Summit brought together various social movements, labor, piqueteros, non-profits, and community groups from Argentina and throughout the Americas to strategize a more just form of Latin American integration.

The Peoples’ Summit, an enormous affair which consumed half of the city, two stadiums, and the university, provided the space for dialogue on how to build an anti-imperialist hemispheric movement. Reproductive, indigenous, and human rights, alternative production models, challenging imperialism, youth movements, genetically modified (GMO) crops, and building autonomy were some of the main themes of the event.

Evident was a growing divide of what the role of progressive and leftist governments will be in building alternatives to the neo-liberal model. Many social movements, especially the autonomous-oriented piquetero groups from Argentina, do not believe that the progressive leaders of Latin America will truly represent their interests or give them more than small pay-offs. Other groups, mainly the parties that are aligned with Kircher, see hope in an alliance with Lula, Chavez, Castro, Vazquez of Uruguay, and Evo Morales, if he wins the upcoming Bolivian elections.

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) was the ghost that haunted the IV Summit.

Although the agreement was not passed by its January 2005 deadline, it is still on the US agenda. Vicente Fox, the president of Mexico, suggested that the FTAA was inevitable, provoking a response from Brazil claiming that the FTAA was not on the agenda. The strongest opposition to the proposed-agreement comes from Venezuela, the MERCOSUR countries (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay) and social movements throughout South America.

This summit addressed the growing rejection of the neo-liberal model by progressive leaders in Latin America and there is now a counter-proposal on the table. ALCA (the FTAA in Spanish) has suffered some blows from social movements in the Americas,

Social movements are skeptical of any integration model in which politicians exclude poor communities from the debate.

and a few years ago, Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez presented ALBA (Alternativa Bolivariana para las Americas) as an alternative. The proposed agreement was initially disregarded, but is now beginning to gain genuine political clout. Cuba and Venezuela have signed onto this model of Latin American integration through the exchange of Venezuelan oil at below-market level prices for a variety of Cuban services, mostly medical.

The economic terms of this counter-proposal for Latin American integration are still unclear, although the claims are that it would be a model that is based in solidarity, not competition. The Peoples’ Summit hosted three separate workshops on ALBA: one which focused on Telesur, a Latin American satellite television station as an integral part of hemispheric integration. Chavez also addressed the Peoples’ Summit after a concert where Cuban musician Sylvio Rodriguez, among many others, played to a stadium packed full of people.

Chavez has become a hero to many labor groups and political parties who were waving the Venezuelan flags with fervor. For

others, ALBA is an empty proposal that will be discussed among “progressive” political leaders and will not truly empower poor people or change the dominant economic model. In Venezuela, there are community health projects, employment plans, education programs and national restructuring and redistribution processes being initiated by the Chavez government and grassroots community groups. However, many of the other “progressive” governments of Latin America have not made large structural economic or political changes which empower the poor. Social movements are skeptical of any integration model in which politicians exclude poor communities from the debate. Within social movements and communi-

ties in Argentina there is a large distrust of government and an understanding of the compromises many progressive leaders make to stay in power.

Argentina, the second largest producer of GMO soy in Latin America, is currently selling Venezuela industrial farm equipment in exchange for cheap oil. Much of this farm equipment will be used by newly-formed cooperatives within Venezuela. But, it will also be used for the farming of GMO soy in Paraguay – which Venezuela buys. Grupo de Reflecion Rural, which works for food sovereignty and against GMO soy in Argentina, its relationship to corporate power, environmental degradation, militarization and human rights violations, is challenging ALBA. Although, like many groups, they support a Latin American integration built in solidarity, they oppose the inclusion of GMO soy in this agreement.

As Chavez spoke to the masses, the groups brought a large banner that stated, “CON SOJA NO HAY ALBA” – With Soy, there is no ALBA.

In Mar del Plata, the Peoples’ Summit culminated in street actions to protest Bush, the FTAA, and neo-liberalism. As the official

Summit began, the actions were kicked-off with a 7:00 AM march of 40,000 people, heading from the fence to the stadium, where Chavez spoke. After the concert, and the enthusiastic speech in which Chavez claimed that Mar del Plata is the grave-site of the FTAA, another march departed from the stadium. Autonomists, anti-imperialists, Trotskyites, and piquetero gathered in the streets to march towards the fence, which encapsulated the meetings and about eighty blocks of the city. Marching past closed-down businesses and tons of graffiti reading “Fuera Bush!”, this group of over 10,000 people, with colorful signs and huge banners, headed towards the IV Summit.

As the march approached the fence, the police fired tear-gas canisters, and some rubber bullets. Although over 5,000 police were in town for this mobilization, the majority were behind the fence. The streets were filled with people expressing their discontent for Bush and all that he stands for. Rocks were thrown through windows of multinational corporate businesses. Cellular phone companies, fast food chains, and banks were targeted as clear symbols of corporate neo-liberal globalization. Banco Galicia, located three blocks from the police line, was set on fire with a Molotov cocktail. Elsewhere, other small-scale explosives were used to start fires.

The message was clear: “Bush is not welcome here!” Nor is an economic model that has led this country into crisis. Neo-liberalism has failed to reduce poverty, create jobs, improve education, or foster democracy. Many hope that the FTAA will rest in Mar del Plata, and that its tomb will read “Defeated by the People.”

There were 86 arrests in Mar del Plata. Similar actions took place in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. When an older local couple who owns a small convenient store was asked what they thought of the action they replied, “Well, the banks had it coming to them.”

Cory Fischer-Hoffman is a former Olympian and Welfare Rights Organizing Coalition (WROC) volunteer, who is traveling in South America.

Saving Rosa Parks from American hypocrisy

by Robert Oscar Lopez

Who can argue with the honors paid to Rosa Parks, the woman described repeatedly as “the mother of the Civil Rights movement”? As the first woman ever to lie in state in the Capitol Rotunda where, not too long ago, Ronald Reagan’s corpse lay, she is the heroine nobody can find fault with. Fifty years ago, she refused to give up her bus seat to a white man. In this simple act, the story goes, the American civil rights movement was born.

I wish the story could end on that high note. Instead, a hagiography filled with hypocrisy is slowly turning Rosa Parks into a conservative weapon against the present generation of antiracist activists, who are already being contrasted against Park’s “unassuming” and “modest” way of changing things, to quote Kyra Phillips on CNN. After celebrating Parks’ diminutive size and “quiet” courage, Phillips asked Reverend Joseph Lowery, an African Ameri-

can civil rights advocate, how Parks’ memory made him feel about all the current-day commentators who are “always on the TV set complaining and shouting.” Phillips was convinced that Parks was “very different,” in fact, a few minutes earlier both Phillips and Lowery had agreed that Parks was an angel chosen by God. Even Parks’ defiance was assumed only by divine right, a right not likely to be conferred on any people of color who wish to continue fighting for equality today.

Skepticism at times like this borders on bad taste, but a small dose of skepticism is necessary to save Rosa Parks from some bad-faith hero worship poised to handicap the very struggle she contributed to. As Rev. Lowery retorted to Phillips, now is not the time to let people “praise Rosa Parks through one side of their mouths” and then from the other side, back Bush’s reactionary pick for the Supreme Court. A realigned Court could easily roll back affirmative action, and Alito’s draconian record on prison rights would hurt the African American inmate population (which, among males at least, is still larger than the number of blacks in college).

The same trend occurred last year, upon the fiftieth anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education*. On one rhetorical level, spokespeople from all sides of the political spectrum sang odes to the progress made since the 1950s. Heartfelt recollections surfaced from countless famous black people, including both superstars and scholars, who spent their childhoods in the segregated South. On a hidden level, however, the discussion made it harder for younger minorities, who have no authenticating memories of pre-1960s segregation, to speak frankly about

racial inequality today. And on the lowest level of the rhetoric, the vulgar discussion on talk shows and call-in programs stated what the saccharine speeches on the top level were *implying* but not saying directly: The struggle was over, because racism was a thing of the past. Unhappiness in the 21st century is a function of ingratitude and the cultural flaws of people of color themselves, over which white people have no power.

Between the *Brown* anniversary and Parks’ death, Hurricane Katrina intervened, changing things. American racial tensions became as globally evident as they were in the Rodney King riots thirteen years earlier. I was hoping for a frank discussion of America’s *present* racial problems; if any good could come out of the disastrous death toll in the Gulf states, at least we could take the opportunity to update our consciousness and abandon the trite clichés about racism existing fifty years ago “but not today.” To our country’s credit, some discussion did surface in the media. Prominent scholars were invited onto CNN, MSNBC, and others, to discuss the racial implications of Katrina. But we can always count on the smug white sanctimony of men like Lou Dobbs of CNN, who quickly poked at race scholars to ask, “haven’t these black spokespeople had anything to say about the fact that New Orleans’ mayor was black?”

Race sputtered as a topic for a little while and seemed, somehow, to be forgotten. And maybe people of color needed to forget it for a while, because the press was sending mixed messages and the discussion seemed to expose all of us to too much risk. At one moment, the viewer was asked to sympathize with black mothers whose infants were dehydrated at the Superdome; at the next moment, reporters shared the lurid stories about rape and people firing at the rescue workers who were trying to save them (there was no need to tag these monsters as black, since the streaming images created a bizarre epistemology that assured us that they were black before anyone needed to ask.) Rape and irrational violence are not exactly new stereotypes to affix to men of color, and the underlying threat in the press was simple: talk too much about racial inequality and we will Willie Hortonize the whole damn city.

“La Rage des Oubliés,” ran the headline of France’s *Libération* in the shameful days after Katrina struck. “The Rage of the Forgotten.” The picture below the headline featured a lone black woman in tattered clothes, screaming at the top of her lungs on one of the battered streets of New Orleans,

presumably one of the many African Americans left stranded without food or water. The tragic truth in the French critique of American racism was its prophetic rather than descriptive quality: the angry ones were going to be forgotten, *because they were angry*. The American press knows two courses of action when dealing with angry minorities: crush them or erase them.

With extreme sadness, I see Rosa Parks slowly being marshaled in the latter course. “Unassuming,” “humble,” this “small-framed” “seamstress” “chosen by God” is the perfect antidote to the “Rage des Oubliés.” Instead of discussing Rosa Parks’ readiness for confrontation or how enraged she must have felt about the Montgomery law, the adjectives emphasize her sacrificial meekness. Kyra Phillips may have simply blurted the question that much of white America is thinking but refuses to ask: “now what do you think of all those commentators who keep complaining all the time on the television, when Rosa Parks’ approach

was so different?”

In death, she is brought into the Capitol Rotunda. The honor is not

hers, I would argue, but the Rotunda’s. In a sickening irony, she lies in the same spot that served to honor J. Edgar Hoover’s corpse shortly after his death on May 4, 1972. Hoover, the longest-lasting head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, worked indefatigably to destroy everything that Rosa Parks stood for. To place her coffin inside the Rotunda is a not-too-subtle act of ownership by the conservative Washington camp that follows in Hoover’s footsteps, not Rosa Parks’. Her story will now belong to someone else, and this time, she cannot refuse to be placed where they want to place her. The story will now go something like this: racism once existed, but it does not anymore. It ended because God chose one small seamstress, and she defied the law, but she defied it meekly, quietly, unassumingly, without pride or aggression. If you are patient and quiet, you will be remembered. If you are angry or militant, you will be forgotten, just as the French headline says.

To his great credit, Reverend Joseph Lowery politely resisted Kyra Phillips’ innuendoes on CNN. “It takes all approaches,” Lowery said. “I do not condone violence, but I do condone militancy.” Phillips, blonde and smiling, may or may not have understood that Lowery was telling her she was wrong. She did not say anything in response. But the endless photographs of Rosa Parks to follow simply reinforced everything Phillips had said: black-and-white pictures of a by-gone era, the small “quiet angel” as Lowery called her, serenely defying her oppressors in a feminine, almost Christ-like sacrifice

consciously differentiated from the black woman screaming at the top of her lungs in the wreckage of New Orleans.

The article above was written prior to the recent riots in France. It is printed in excerpted form with permission. The full text of this article is available at <http://buffaloreport.com/2005/051101.lopez.parks.html>. Robert Oscar Lopez also has a website at www.bronzepage.com.



Keep Democracy Now! on TCTV

Have you ever found yourself staring in a state of hopeless disgust as Wolf Blitzer, Ted Koppel, or Jim Leher lob yet another softball to some member of the owning/ ruling class and wondering what would happen if the audience of millions somehow managed to stumble upon an edition of **Democracy Now!** as they channel-surf in desperate pursuit of something meaningful and true?

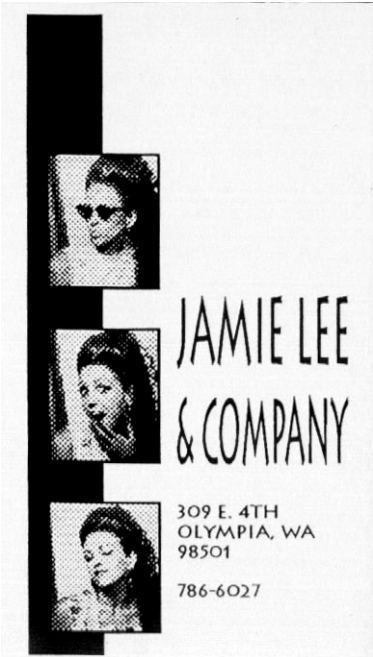
Well, you may not be able to accommodate the millions, but, for a relative pittance, you can make this experience possible for the people of Thurston County. For three years now, **Media Island International** in collaboration with **Thurston Community Television**, through donations from people like you, has sponsored the yearly subscription for the Dish Network which makes *Democracy Now!* available to more than 53,000 cable-paying households in Thurston County. Funds are still needed (\$231.00) to finance the Dish subscription for the coming year, and the deadline is upon us: **December 15, 2005**.

If not for yourselves, do it for those citizens of our region who still believe that the corporate talking heads at CNN, ABC, and PBS are the only game in the realm of news and public affairs programming. Help us keep *Democracy Now!* on our local access TV station — Thurston Community Television — by donating whatever amount you can afford.

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Democracy Now! currently airs on TCTV channel 22 at 5 AM and 4 PM. Let’s do our part to keep it that way.

Media Island, a non-profit 501(c)3 organization in Olympia, is a resource and networking center for groups and individuals working for social justice. Contributions are tax-deductible.



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Save Stanley “Tookie” Williams

by Marco Rosaire Rossi

Stories of true redemption are rare in our criminal justice system. For that reason alone, those stories ought to be publicly recognized and the redeemed characters ought to be celebrated. That isn’t the case. The tragedy of our criminal justice system is that in the majority of cases it will follow punishment through to the end, regardless of whether the punishment is rational, just, or compassionate. That is the tragedy of our criminal justice system, and it could be the tragedy of Stanley “Tookie” Williams.

Williams (who mostly goes by the name Tookie) is different from other death row inmates. First, his life as a criminal is notorious. He was the one of the co-founders of the Crips street gang in 1971 at age sixteen. The Crips grew into one of the largest criminal organizations in the nation throughout the eighties and nineties. Their only rivals for street domination were their counterparts, the Bloods, and the police. Violence between these three forces shattered ghetto communities. In 1981, the law caught up with Tookie. He was accused of murdering a convenience store clerk execution-style, and the owners of a motel and their daughter during a robbery. The jury found him guilty during his trial, and he was sentenced to death row. That is where he has stayed for the last twenty-four years.

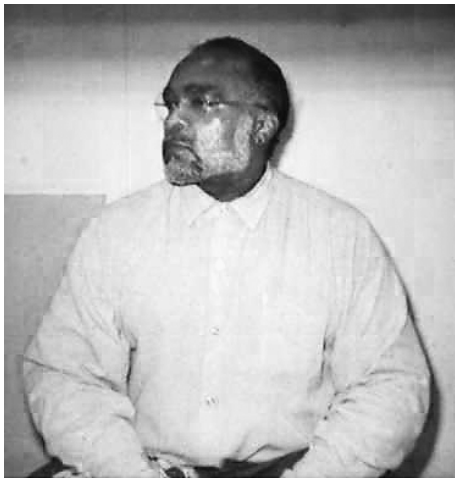
Second, Tookie is even better known as a peacemaker. Tookie went through a dramatic transformation eight years after his conviction. He dedicated his life to non-violence and sought ways to end the gang warfare he helped create. He has been extraordinarily productive despite his prison restrictions. He has written nine highly acclaimed children’s books that educate young people on the gang violence, and a memoir entitled *Blue Rage, Black Redemption*. He also developed a peace protocol that helps street gangs transition from criminality to community organizing. In May 2004, the Bloods and Crips used Tookie’s protocol to form a truce and end the violence. He also started an international peer mentoring program called the Internet Project for Street Peace. This work has led to his nomination for the Nobel peace prize five times and the Nobel prize in literature four times. His memoir was nominated for the James Madison Book Award and was turned into the television movie, *Redemption: The*

Stan Tookie Williams Story starring Academy Award winner Jamie Foxx. Educators, parents, governmental officials, social workers, and law enforcement have all praised his work. Some have estimated that Tookie has saved the lives of up to 150,000 young people. He was even recognized by President Bush when he received a presidential award for volunteer work with young people.

These remarkable achievements would convince most people to grant Tookie clemency, or at least take him off death row – but that isn’t the case. On October 11, 2005, Tookie exhausted his last appeal before the United States Supreme Court on getting a new trial based on racial discrimination. He is scheduled for execution by lethal injection on December 13 this year. The only person who can legally stay the execution is Governor Schwarzenegger.

This situation has sparked action on behalf of Tookie. Recently, a celebrity letter that included the signatures of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Danny Glover, Bonnie Raitt, Mario Cuomo, Snoop Dogg, Dr. Hunter “Patch” Adams, Rev. Jesse Jackson, and many others was sent to Governor Schwarzenegger. The letter is accompanied by an online petition that has already attracted over 50,000 signatures from around the globe. The supporters of Tookie have asserted that the evidence confirming his conviction is nebulous. Tookie has admitted to many crimes, but he has always claimed his innocence for the four murders. Tookie’s lawyers are currently trying to get another trial for him based on new evidence that puts the former forensic test in serious doubt. The California Supreme Court hasn’t ruled on whether it will hear the case. Critics of the conviction have also claimed that the witnesses who testified against Tookie were unreliable sources – including “a jailhouse snitch with a record of perjury.” The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals stated in its 2002 ruling that some of the witnesses had “less-than-clean backgrounds and incentives to lie in order to obtain leniency from the state in either charging or sentencing.”

The most disturbing aspects of Tookie’s trial were the tactics used by the prosecution. The prosecutor has been accused of utilizing racist strategies and stereotypes to get a conviction from the jury. All potential jurors who were black were removed from the trial during the jury selection. The pros-



ecutor also compared Tookie to a “Bengal tiger” and insinuated that South Central Los Angeles was a jungle. It was the hope that the US Supreme Court would find this behavior by the prosecutor unconstitutional – a violation of the 5th, 6th, and 14th Amendments – but instead it ruled in the favor of the state of California. Civil rights organizations considered the ruling by the Supreme Court to be a major setback.

The story of Stanley “Tookie” Williams involves two major crimes. The first is the four people who were brutally murdered over twenty years ago. As new evidence emerges, it becomes less likely that Tookie committed those acts. That is in the past, and unfortunately cannot be changed. The second is Tookie’s execution. That hasn’t happened yet, and it may be prevented if people act swiftly and thoughtfully.

To help save Tookie, contact Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger and request clemency for Stanley “Tookie” Williams. The information is below.

Contact Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger
Fax: 916-445-4633
Phone: 916-445-2841
Email: governor@governor.ca.gov
Write:
Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger
State Capitol Building
Sacramento, CA 95814

To find out more visit www.savetookie.org
To sign an on-line petition for Tookie’s clemency go to: <http://www.petitiononline.com/stw4804/petition.html>

We should de-couple health care from employment

by Robert B. Reich

Wal-Mart and General Motors have been in the news recently for their efforts to cut the costs of their employee health insurance. They are singled out mainly because they’re so large. As health costs soar across the economy, every company that once provided full health coverage to its employees is actively paring it back.

So why not go all the way? Let’s de-couple health care from employment.

The reason employers ever got into the business of providing their workers health insurance in the first place is it’s a form of payment that’s not taxed. That made it attractive to both employers and employees, before medical costs skyrocketed.

Yet even though employer-provided health care is now shrinking, it still constitutes the biggest tax break in the whole federal tax system. According to recent estimates, if health-care benefits were considered taxable income, employees would be paying \$126 billion a year more in income taxes than they do now.

Think of employer-provided health care as a kind of back-door, \$126 billion-a-year health insurance system. But what a bizarre system it is. First, you’re not eligible for it when you and your family are likely to need it the most – when you lose your job. And these days, that’s happening more and more. Employers are slashing their payrolls. No job is safe. Why add to employees’ anxieties by ending their health insurance just when they’re shown the door?

Second, the system distorts the whole labor market. It prevents lots of people from changing jobs for fear they’ll lose their health insurance, or won’t get the benefits they do now. And it invites employers to game the system by seeking young, healthy employees who pose a low risk of ill-health while rejecting older employees who are likely to have more costly health needs. It also encourages employers to try to push their married employees onto their spouse’s health insurance plan so that the spouse’s employer bears the cost.

Finally, the system is upside down. The lower your pay, the less coverage you’re likely to have. Workers in the lowest paying jobs have no health insurance at all. But the higher your pay, the more health coverage you get – with top executives getting gold-plated plans guaranteeing top-notch medical attention for just about every health risk you can imagine.

This means that the \$126 billion tax subsidy goes mainly to upper-income people. Lower-income workers are losing their employer coverage. And the loss is happening at exactly the same time the costs of private health insurance are going through the roof.

For all these reasons, it’s time for the nation to wise up. Instead of condemning companies for looking for ways to cut their health bills, we ought to be instructing companies to stop providing health benefits altogether. Eliminate the current \$126 billion tax subsidy. Use the money instead as a down payment on a universal and affordable system of health insurance – available to everyone regardless of how much they earn, where they work, or even whether they have a job.

Printed with permission. Robert B. Reich, a professor at Brandeis University, is the author most recently of Reason (2004, Alfred A. Knopf). He was Secretary of Labor in the Clinton administration.

Rally at San Quentin on November 19 to prevent the execution of Stan “Tookie” Williams



"Bringing it Home"

Local action to stop the occupation of Iraq

by Tom Crawford

Some issues loom so large and foreboding on our political and mental landscapes, we seem powerless in the face of them. The dark storm clouds of war, official lies, abandonment of our most needy citizens, and politicians' illegal behavior loom so large it seems the only thing we can do is hunker down and wait (pray!) for them to pass. As Bob Dylan puts it, "High water everywhere."

Over the past six months, a group of Thurston County citizens has looked at the US occupation in Iraq and said, "Nonsense! There is something we can do about this!" They have recognized that a government can pursue violent and oppressive policies only with the cooperation of its citizens. Especially in the US, the government is ultimately accountable to the people. We can effectively resist immoral and illegal policies using local citizen action and non-violent resistance.

The power of this kind of local non-cooperation and non-violent resistance has been demonstrated throughout the last century and into this one. Non-violent movements in Russia, India, Denmark, the Philippines, El Salvador, Chile, and South Africa resulted in major changes in governments and government policies. Our own civil rights movement has been the inspiration for non-violent movements throughout the world.

Non-violent resistance and non-cooperation goes beyond the occasional protest march and letter to the editor. It goes to withdrawing energy and resources that those pursuing the Iraq occupation depend on. For example, the military depends on recruits into the regular military, reserves and national guard. Without contractors and subcontractors to make military equipment, it would be impossible to continue the occupation. State governments must cooperate with calling up the National Guard. Local port authorities must allow the shipment of military goods and equipment to the front lines.

So a group of Thurston County citizens are working toward getting our community to cut off some of these local support channels.

Since July of 2005, some of those involved in Iraq-related resistance efforts have met to share insights about non-violence, to plan and organize their efforts, and to coordinate work with one another. Under the title, "Bringing it Home," local organizers Emily Lardner and Tom Crawford have brought folks together in July, August, and October. Participants have numbered between 20 and 50 people, and represent both existing and new efforts to oppose

the Iraq occupation.

Here are some examples of actions undertaken over the last six months:

- Stopping the abuses of military recruiting, especially in schools. The "Know All You Can Know" campaign has raised the awareness of school administrators, teachers, parents and students about a number of issues related to military recruiting in schools. In particular, this group has focused on the provision in the No Child Left Behind Act that requires high schools to provide student information to a military recruiting database. Students have a right to "opt out" of having this information shared with recruiters, but in the past some schools have not spent much time or effort letting students and their parents know about this option. The "Know All You Can Know" campaign has worked hard to improve information available to students, make the "opt out" forms easier to read, extend school district deadlines for submitting forms, and support students in organizing themselves to counter military recruiting efforts on campus. In addition, the group has used mainstream media, running a 60-second radio spot during October on KXXO-FM, to let students and parents know about their opt-out rights.
- Questioning military shipments destined for Iraq handled through the Port of Olympia. Since 2004, a dedicated group of citizens has challenged the port's agreement to handle military shipments to Iraq. Citing the illegality of the US war and occupation of that country, they have used protests and testimony at port commission meetings and hearings to make their point. Although the commission has not formally adopted a policy against these shipments, in fact no military shipments have left Olympia for Iraq since May of 2005, though shipments bringing equipment back from Iraq have continued.
- Helping local governments and school districts demand a change in budget priorities. The use of taxpayer money to fund war and occupation rather than education and community services does not make our communities more safe or secure. A group is examining the impact of these priorities on our communities, and planning to contact city councils, the county commissioners, and other local political office holders and policy makers.
- Getting Gov. Christine Gregoire to formally request the return of Washington's National Guard troops from Iraq. Although the National Guard reports to the Governor of the state, National Guard units can be mobilized at any time by presidential order

to supplement regular armed forces. This is what George Bush did to supplement regular Army troops for the Iraq invasion and occupation. At the same time, since September 2001, the duration of active service was increased from 6 months to 18 months, then to 24 months. This deployment is affecting the Washington Guard's morale and its ability to respond to local disasters and emergencies. A local group just completed a fast to gain attention for this issue; in December they plan a daily vigil on the steps of the state capitol building.

- Reaching out to individuals, to help them take some small action against the occupation. This campaign has conducted a series of seminars, to provide skills for talking about the Iraq occupation in ways that lead to dialogue and support rather than creating polarized opposition. In addition, this campaign has carried on a unique petition campaign, gathering hundreds of signatures in support of ending the occupation.

Other groups are organizing themselves around the following aspects of the Iraq war and occupation:

- Convincing local companies that provide equipment, materials or services which support the Iraq occupation, to stop doing that.
- Undercutting the racism and religious intolerance that feed this war.
- Helping local religious congregations foster honest discussions of the moral questions connected to this occupation.

As you can see, important local efforts are taking place to stop the Iraq occupation. At the same time, on the national scene, resistance is growing. Even politicians are taking up the call. The days of US military presence in Iraq are growing fewer. Is there a connection? Are we having an impact? Without a doubt. We are part of a growing nationwide movement to stop the war

and occupation in Iraq, and to bring our troops home.

At the same time, it is important that the local work on this issue continue. If you oppose the occupation, and want to be part of the movement that actually stopped it in its tracks, now is a great time to join the effort!

The next meeting for "Bringing it Home" will be held on the morning of Saturday, January 21. The event is being co-sponsored by the Olympia Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace. The agenda will feature a review of progress to date, discussion of organizing strategy, time for individual groups and campaigns to plan their next steps, and vocal chord exercises (a.k.a. singing fun songs!). The exact time and place will be posted on the Olympia FOR web site. If you want to join local efforts to end the Iraq occupation, show up on January 21, be part of creating a new direction for our nation—and have some fun while you're doing it!

For more information, check the Olympia FOR website, at <http://www.olyfor.org/>, or contact the organizers: Tom Crawford, tcpraxis@comcast.net, 280-0242; or Emily Lardner, lardnere@hotmail.com, 705-3678.



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